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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 231682 TOSEC 270365

LIMDIS; FOR LORD EYES ONLY FROM BARTHOLOMEW

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: OVIPKISSINGER, H. A., UNGA, PARM

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S UNGA SPEECH - NON-PROLIFERATION SECT.

REF: TOSEC 270266; SECTO 27111

1. HERE IS A NEW DRAFT OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION SECTION.

CORE OF ANALYTICAL APPROACH IN THIS DRAFT IS NUCLEAR

CONTROL BALANCED BY SUPPLY AND SUPPORTED BY COMMON POLITI-

CAL INTEREST AND PLUTONIUM MANAGEMENT. IN ARTICULATING

THIS APPROACH, WE DREW FROM ANALYSIS OF FUEL CYCLE PROBLEM

IN EARLIER STRATEGY PAPER BUT CONCLUDED THAT THREE

SEPARATE STAGES OF CONTROLS (SAFEGUARDS, RESTRAINT,

STORAGE), EACH EXPLICITLY DESIGNED TO KEEP NUCLEAR

EXPLOSIVE MATERIALS OUT OF NNWS HANDS, WOULD MAKE UNGA

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SPEECH APPEAR EXCESSIVELY RESTRICTIVE AND DISCRIMINATORY.

HOWEVER, EACH STAGE IS REFLECTED IN SUBSTANCE OF DRAFT AND

CONTINUES TO BE OFFSET BY EMPHASIS ON INCENTIVES AND
COMMON INTEREST. AND, WE ARE SOMEWHAT NERVOUS ABOUT

DIDACTIC TONE WHICH INEVITABLY CREEPS INTO MORE ELABORATE

EXPLANATION OF CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF PROLIFERATION.

INTERNATIONAL PERCEPTIONS OF PROLIFERATION DANGERS HAVE

SIGNIFICANTLY SHIFTED SINCE 1974. BECAUSE OF THIS AND

FACT THAT PREVIOUS UNGA SPEECHES DELVED INTO ECONOMIC,

POLITICAL AND MILITARY BACKGROUND, CASE CAN BE MADE FOR

BRIEF PROVOCATIVE SETTING AND EMPHASIS ON DILEMMAS AND

SOLUTIONS.

2. BEGIN TEXT: THE MENACE OF WIDESPREAD PROLIFERATION OF

NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH THE WORLD FACES TODAY RAISES

FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS ABOUT MANKIND'S CAPACITY TO UNDER-

STAND AND RESPOND TO A CHALLENGE TO ITS VERY EXISTENCE.

3. FOR THREE GENERATIONS THE WORLD HAS ENDURED A SITUATION

IN WHICH A STRATEGIC BALANCE PERILOUSLY MAINTAINED

BETWEEN A RELATIVELY FEW NATIONS HAS DETERRED THE

CATASTROPHE OF NUCLEAR WAR.

4. BUT NOW, A WHOLLY NEW SITUATION IMPENDS, AS WE

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CONFRONT THE POSSIBILITY THAT SCORES OF NATIONS MAY COME

TO POSSESS NUCLEAR WEAPONS. NOW, IT IS POSSIBLE TO

FORESEE THAT THE THREAT TO USE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES COULD

WELL BECOME THE REPEATED RESORT OF THOSE SEEKING TO QUICKLY

PREVAIL IN REGIONAL DISPUTES IN EVERY QUARTER OF THE
GLOBE. NOW, IT IS POSSIBLE TO FORESEE NUCLEAR WEAPONS
AS PAWNS TO BE STRUGGLED OVER IN INTERNAL CONFLICTS.
AND NOW, WE CAN BE CERTAIN THAT UNLESS WE ACT TOGETHER
TO REVERSE CURRENT TRENDS, THE LIKELIHOOD OF NUCLEAR
DEVASTATION WILL INCREASE VASTLY IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE.

5. THE PROBLEM OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IS INCREMENTAL.

THE DANGER DOES NOT APPEAR FULL-BLOWN ALL AT ONCE. IT
IS POSSIBLE EACH STEP OF THE WAY TO SAY THAT THE ULTIMATE
THREAT NEED NOT YET BE FACED.

6. YET THE DIRECTION IN WHICH EVENTS

ARE DRIFTING IS ALL TOO CLEAR -- AND ALL TOO DANGEROUS.
OBVIOUSLY WE FACE A CHALLENGE OF TRANSCENDENT IMPORTANCE.
OUR RESPONSIBILITY IS TO TAKE STEPS NOW -- TO ACT BEFORE
THE OBSTACLES ARE OVERWHELMING.

7. WE MUST LOOK TO THE SOURCES OF THE PROBLEM. WHAT

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ARE THE MOTIVATIONS WHICH CAN LEAD TO PROLIFERATION OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS? AND WHAT WILL BE THE CONSEQUENCES?

8. THERE IS TODAY AMONG NATIONS A RAPIDLY GROWING INTEREST

IN THE ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAMS.

BUT THERE ARE POLITICAL AND MILITARY FACTORS AND CON-
SIDERATIONS OF NATIONAL PRESTIGE AS WELL.

-- THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR ENERGY

PROGRAMS ARE INCREASINGLY EVIDENT. SINCE THE 1973 ENERGY

CRISIS AND CONSEQUENT DRASTIC RISE IN OIL PRICES, MANY
NATIONS HAVE TURNED TOWARD NUCLEAR ENERGY, AS A MEANS
BOTH OF LOWERING THE COST OF GENERATING ELECTRICITY AND OF
REDUCING THEIR RELIANCE UPON IMPORTED PETROLEUM.

-- IN AN AGE OF GROWING NATIONALISM, PEACEFUL NUCLEAR
POWER DEVELOPMENT HAS COME TO BE VIEWED AS A MEANS OF
ENHANCING A NATION'S PRESTIGE.

-- AND IN A WORLD OF CONTINUING REGIONAL RIVALRIES AND
CONFRONTATION, SOME HAVE VIEWED THE POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR
FACILITIES AS PROVIDING AN OPTION TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR
WEAPONS IN THE FUTURE IN ORDER TO ENHANCE MILITARY SECUR-
ITY OR POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

9. THE ECONOMIC REALITIES OF OUR TIME MAKE IT CRUCIAL
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FOR THE WORLD'S NATIONS TO PERSIST IN SEEKING ALTERNATIVE
SOURCES OF ENERGY TO REDUCE RELIANCE ON INEXORABLY
Dwindling fossil fuels. Yet if these forces ultimately
result in widespread nuclear weapons proliferation, no
one will gain. All will lose.

10. IN THE LONG TERM NO NATION CAN HOPE TO GAIN POLITI-
cally or militarily from developing nuclear explosives.

-- POLITICAL PRESTIGE CAN NO LONGER BE CAPTURED BY SUCH
A DECISION IN AN AGE WHEN THE USE OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR
ENERGY IS BECOMING COMMONPLACE. AND WHEN THE CONSTRUCTION
OF A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE DEVICE IS WITHIN THE CAPACITY OF

NATIONS ON EVERY CONTINENT, THERE CAN BE NO RATIONAL
EXPECTATION THAT NATIONS CAN THEREBY DEMONSTRATE
TECHNOLOGICAL PRE-EMINENCE.

-- ADVANTAGES IN LOCAL BALANCES OF POWER MAY COME FOR A
TIME. BUT TEMPORARY GAINS WILL SOON BE OFFSET AS POTEN-
TIAL OPPONENTS INEVITABLY MOVE TO REDRESS PERCEIVED
MILITARY IMBALANCES. WHILE NATIONS WHICH HOPE TO BENEFIT
FROM THE POSSESSION OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES WILL FIND THOSE
HOPES ILLUSORY, THE CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL NATIONS WILL BE

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REAL, AND SEVERE, CREATING MASSIVE RISKS OF OBLITERATION
OF ENTIRE SOCIETIES. ALL NATIONS WOULD BE FACED WITH
ENVIRONMENTS -- REGIONAL AND GLOBAL -- OF INTENSIFIED
UNCERTAINTY, COMPLEXITY, AND DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL.

11. MAINTAINING GLOBAL STABILITY WHEN NUCLEAR POWERS ARE
LIMITED IN NUMBER IS DIFFICULT IN THE EXTREME. IN
A WORLD WITH MULTIPLE CENTERS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS,
PEACE -- AND EXISTENCE -- COULD WELL BECOME AN IMPOS-
SIBILITY. FOR THERE CAN BE NO GUARANTEE THAT NUCLEAR-
ARMED ADVERSARIES IN SUCH A WORLD WOULD ALWAYS BE DETERRED
FROM USING OR THREATENING TO USE SUCH WEAPONS.

12. NOR COULD THERE BE ANY CONFIDENCE THAT CONVENTIONAL
CONFRONTATIONS WOULD NOT ESCALATE TO NUCLEAR EXCHANGES.
DECISION-MAKERS OPERATING UNDER CONDITIONS OF WIDE PROLIF-
ERATION WOULD HAVE TO COPE WITH DESTABILIZING INTERACTIONS

AMONG THEIR NUCLEAR FORCES, MUTUALLY REINFORCING MIS-
PERCEPTIONS OF READINESS TO TAKE NUCLEAR RISKS, AND
INCREASINGLY UNPREDICTABLE OUTCOMES.

13. NATIONS WHO BELIEVE THAT THEIR SECURITY WILL BE
INCREASED BY MOVING TOWARDS NUCLEAR WEAPONS FAIL TO
ACCOUNT FOR THE INEVITABLE REACTIONS OF OTHER STATES
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AND THE NEGATIVE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS FOR THEIR BROADER
SECURITY ENVIRONMENT. A COUNTRY CHOOSING NOW TO ACQUIRE
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES -- WHICH ARE TECHNICALLY EQUIVALENT
TO WEAPONS -- MUST THEREFORE ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY NOT
ONLY FOR ITS OWN ACTIONS BUT FOR ENCOURAGING NUCLEAR
PROLIFERATION TO A GREAT MANY COUNTRIES THEREAFTER.
THE TIDE OF PROLIFERATION CANNOT
BE STEMMED BY LABELLING AS "PEACEFUL" DEVICES WHICH
PALPABLY ARE CAPABLE OF MASSIVE MILITARY DESTRUCTION.
NOR SHOULD ANY GOVERNMENT BELIEVE THAT THE DOOR TO THE
NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARSENAL CAN BE CLOSED AS SOON AS IT IS
INSIDE.

NUCLEAR PARADOX

14. THE WORLD THEREFORE FACES A PARADOX: COUNTRIES FEEL
AN INCREASING NEED FOR NUCLEAR POWER AS A SOURCE OF
ENERGY FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS. BUT THE UNRESTRAINED
SPREAD OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY -- GIVEN IMPETUS NOT ONLY BY
LEGITIMATE ECONOMIC NEEDS BUT BY POLITICAL AND MILITARY

MOTIVATIONS -- RAISES THE STARK THREAT OF PROLIFERATING

NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITH ALL ITS ATTENDANT RISKS OF ACCIDENTS,

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BLACKMAIL, THEFT, TERRORISM AND USE IN REGIONAL CONFLICTS.

15. IN CONFRONTING THIS PARADOX, THE WORLD COMMUNITY MUST

FIND WAYS TO MEET LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS WITHOUT CON-

TRIBUTING TO THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. TO

DO ANY LESS WILL PLACE IN SERIOUS JEOPARDY, IF NOT

CRIPPLE ENTIRELY, THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF PEACEFUL

NUCLEAR ENERGY TO SERVE MANKIND'S NEEDS -- AS EXPORTERS

AND IMPORTERS ALIKE COME TO FEAR THAT THE PEACEFUL

BENEFITS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY CAN ONLY BE REALIZED AT GRAVE

RISK TO WORLD SECURITY.

16. THERE IS NO SINGLE KEY TO SUCCESS. WE HAVE NO

ALTERNATIVE BUT TO WORK TOGETHER TO DEVELOP FAIR AND

EFFECTIVE MEASURES WHICH CAN BE MUTUALLY REINFORCING.

NUCLEAR FRAMEWORK

17. THE FRAMEWORK OF COOPERATION AGAINST PROLIFERATION

SHOULD RECONCILE GLOBAL REQUIREMENTS FOR NUCLEAR CONTROL

WITH GLOBAL ASPIRATIONS FOR NUCLEAR SUPPLY. FOR

NUCLEAR CONTROL, OUR LINE OF ACTION MUST BE TO MOVE

TOWARD STRONGER SAFEGUARDS AND INCREASED RESTRAINT IN

SENSITIVE NUCLEAR TRANSFERS. FOR NUCLEAR SUPPLY, WE MUST

PURSUE WITH EQUAL VIGOR A SECOND LINE OF ACTION DESIGNED

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TO ENSURE THE RELIABLE AND ECONOMICAL SUPPLY OF NON-SENSITIVE NUCLEAR FUEL AND EQUIPMENT.

18. THIS FRAMEWORK WILL PROVE INADEQUATE, HOWEVER, IF IT IS NOT SUPPORTED BY A WORLDWIDE COMMITMENT TO NON-PROLIFERATION AT A FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL LEVEL.

19. WE MUST CREATE A NUCLEAR COMMUNITY IN WHICH COUNTRIES ARE PREPARED TO PLACE UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL MATERIALS USEABLE FOR EXPLOSIVES THAT ARE GENERATED BY CIVIL NUCLEAR PROGRAMS. WITHOUT POLITICAL COMMITMENT, SAFEGUARDS AND CONTROLS WILL BE OF LIMITED LONG-TERM EFFECT. WITHOUT CONTROL OF WEAPONS - USEABLE MATERIALS, PEACEFUL NUCLEAR SUPPLY CANNOT FLOURISH.

NUCLEAR CONTROL

20. TO MEET GLOBAL REQUIREMENTS FOR CONTROLS, ALONG THE FIRST LINE OF ACTION:

-- FIRST, WE MUST LESSEN THE FEAR THAT CIVIL NUCLEAR PROGRAMS WILL ONE DAY BE MISUSED, FOR SUCH PERCEPTIONS CAN ONLY GENERATE RACES TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITIES. THEREFORE, WE NOT ONLY URGE COMPREHENSIVE ACCEPTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS OVER ALL PEACEFUL

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NUCLEAR PROGRAMS BUT (WE ARE PREPARED TO GIVE POSITIVE WEIGHT IN OUR FUTURE NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH COUNTRIES

ACCEPTING SUCH SAFEGUARDS.) THE PHYSICAL SECURITY OF
NUCLEAR MATERIALS, WHETHER IN USE, STORAGE OR TRANSFER,
MUST BE INCREASED. THE IAEA MUST RECEIVE THE FULL SUPPORT
OF ALL NATIONS IN MAKING ITS SAFEGUARDS AS EFFECTIVE AND
AS RELIABLE AS POSSIBLE. ANY POTENTIAL VIOLATOR OF IAEA
SAFEGUARDS MUST UNDERSTAND THE IMMEDIATE AND ADVERSE
IMPACT TO ITSELF OF SUCH A SERIOUS AFFRONT TO INTERNATIONAL
NORMS.

-- SECOND, WE MUST ACT DECISIVELY AGAINST THE SPREAD
OF NATIONAL CAPABILITIES FOR PRODUCING PLUTONIUM AND
HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM, WHICH ARE WEAPONS-USEABLE
MATERIALS. IT IS IMPERATIVE TO EXERCISE THE GREATEST
POSSIBLE RESTRAINT IN THE TRANSFER OF SENSITIVE NUCLEAR
FACILITIES FOR ENRICHING URANIUM AND EXTRACTING PLUTONIUM.

21. ADHERENCE TO SAFEGUARDS IS NECESSARY BUT NOT
SUFFICIENT TO GUARANTEE THAT NUCLEAR COMMERCE REMAINS
PEACEFUL. COUNTRIES WHICH SEEK TO ACQUIRE ENRICHMENT
AND REPROCESSING FACILITIES UNDER NATIONAL CONTROL, IN
DISREGARD OF ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS AND MILITARY TENSIONS,
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MUST RECOGNIZE THE SECURITY IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR
ACTIONS -- WHETHER OR NOT THESE IMPLICATIONS WERE
INTENDED.

NUCLEAR SUPPLY

22. NATIONS ACCEPTING EFFECTIVE NON-PROLIFERATION

RESTRAINTS HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT RELIABLE AND ECONOMICAL
SUPPLY OF NUCLEAR REACTORS AND ASSOCIATED, NON-SENSITIVE
FUEL. TO MOVE EFFECTIVELY ALONG THIS SECOND LINE OF
ACTION, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THESE CONCRETE AND
FORWARD STEPS:

-- WE URGE NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS TO OFFER AND NUCLEAR
CONSUMERS TO ACCEPT SAFE AND ECONOMICAL NUCLEAR FUEL
SERVICES INSTEAD OF SENSITIVE NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY IN ALL
FUTURE NUCLEAR COMMERCE. MY GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO
SUPPORT THIS APPROACH, TO EXPAND ITS CAPACITY TO MEET
ALL FUTURE DEMAND FOR NUCLEAR FUEL FROM COUNTRIES NOT
CONTRIBUTING TO THE SPREAD OF SENSITIVE NUCLEAR FACILITIES.
-- WE PROPOSE TO CONSIDER WAYS OF (POOLING OUR RESOURCES)
WITH OTHER NATIONS TO ENSURE UNINTERRUPTED AND ECONOMICAL
SUPPLY UNDISTORTED BY COMMERCIAL RIVALRY.

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-- WE CONTINUE TO SEE MERIT IN DEVELOPING, IN
APPROPRIATE CASES, SUITABLY SITED MULTINATIONAL ALTERNA-
TIVES TO NEW NATIONAL FACILITIES, IF AND WHEN THESE
BECOME REQUIRED, AND WE COMMEND THE THOROUGH STUDY BEING
CONDUCTED BY THE IAEA IN THIS AREA.

NUCLEAR COMMUNITY

23. A RATIONAL BALANCE BETWEEN NUCLEAR CONTROL AND
NUCLEAR SUPPLY MUST DEPEND, MOST FUNDAMENTALLY, ON THE
POLITICAL WILL OF NATIONS TO FOREGO, IN FACT AND IN

APPEARANCE, OPTIONS FOR MAKING NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. WE
THEREFORE URGE THE WIDEST POSSIBLE ADHERENCE TO THE NON-
PROLIFERATION TREATY, WHICH HAS BEEN RATIFIED BY GROWING
NUMBERS OF STATES, INCLUDING SOME OF THE LARGEST NUCLEAR
INDUSTRIAL POWERS IN THE WORLD. WE WELCOME IN PARTICULAR
JAPAN'S RECENT COMPLETION OF ITS NPT RATIFICATION PROCESS
THE UNITED STATES, FOR ITS PART, ACCEPTS THAT THE NUCLEAR
WEAPONS POWERS SHOULD SHOW BY THEIR OWN EXAMPLE THAT THEY
ALSO DESIRE TO REDUCE TO THE MINIMUM THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR
EXPLOSIVES ON THIS PLANET.

24. ALONG WITH A COMMON POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO NON-
PROLIFERATION MUST COME A COMMON DETERMINATION TO LIMIT
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THE ACCUMULATION OF PLUTONIUM FORMED IN NUCLEAR REACTORS
AND TO CONTAIN THE PRESSURE TO BUILD NATIONAL FACILITIES
TO PROCESS AND RECYCLE THIS MATERIAL. RELIABLE NUCLEAR
FUEL ASSURANCES AT LOWER COST WILL BE CRUCIAL IF THIS
PRESSURE IS TO BE LIMITED. (BUT BEYOND THIS, THE UNITED
STATES OFFERS THE FOLLOWING NEW APPROACHES TO DEAL
WITH THE CRUCIAL ISSUE OF PLUTONIUM CONTROL WHICH MUST
BE AT THE FOREFRONT OF THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA:
-- WE PROPOSE THAT SECURE ARRANGEMENTS FOR STORING USED
REACTOR FUEL OR SEPARATED PLUTONIUM IN EXCESS OF CIVIL
NUCLEAR NEEDS BE ESTABLISHED UNDER INTERNATIONAL AUSPICES.
WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK TO THIS END WITH ALL INTERESTED

STATES AND THE IAEA, WHOSE CHARTER PERMITS IT TO ESTABLISH
INTERNATIONAL STORAGE FACILITIES. PRESIDENT FORD HAS
DIRECTED THE CONTRIBUTION OF U.S. RESOURCES AND FACILITIES
TO THIS END, AND HAS EXPRESSED OUR READINESS TO STORE OUR
OWN EXCESS CIVIL SPENT FUEL AND PLUTONIUM UNDER IAEA
AUSPICES.

-- WE PROPOSE THAT ARRANGEMENTS BE DEVELOPED TO PERMIT
AN EXCHANGE OF FRESH FOR USED REACTOR FUEL UNDER EQUITABLE
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TERMS, IN ORDER TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR
INTERNATIONAL STORAGE AND FOR LIMITING EVENTUAL RE-
PROCESSING TO EXISTING FACILITIES.

-- AND WE PROPOSE THAT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO
AN INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL BANK WHICH WOULD COORDINATE
NUCLEAR FUEL SUPPLY, EXCHANGE, AND STORAGE, WITH THE AIM OF
HELPING TO ENSURE FRESH REACTOR FUEL SUPPLY AND REALIZING
ANY EVENTUAL VALUE OF REACTOR OUTPUT.)

NUCLEAR IMPERATIVES

25. THE PROBLEM OF PROLIFERATION DEMANDS CANDOR. IT CAN
PERHAPS BE MANAGED -- BUT ONLY PARTIALLY AND TEMPORARILY --
BY TECHNICAL MEASURES. IT CAN BE SOLVED, HOWEVER, IF
ALL OF US FACE THE PROBLEM REALISTICALLY. THESE REALITIES
ARE FUNDAMENTALLY POLITICAL, RELATING TO THE DETERMINATION
AND FORESIGHT OF LEADERS IN RESISTING PERCEIVED SHORT-
TERM ADVANTAGES IN FAVOR OF FUNDAMENTAL LONG-TERM GAINS.

ALL LEADERS MUST SEE THAT THEIR INDIVIDUAL AND
COLLECTIVE INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY INTERNATIONALLY
ASSURED AND SAFEGUARDED NUCLEAR FUEL SUPPLY, SERVICE AND
STORAGE AND BY FOREGOING ACQUISITION
OF SENSITIVE NATIONAL FACILITIES.
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26. IF WE CAN MOVE TOGETHER CONSTRUCTIVELY AND COOPERATIVELY IN MANAGING OUR COMMON NUCLEAR PROBLEMS, WE WILL NOT ONLY ENHANCE OUR COLLECTIVE SECURITY BUT WE WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO CONCENTRATE OUR ENERGIES AND OUR RESOURCES ON THE GREAT TASKS OF CONSTRUCTION RATHER THAN CONSUME THEM IN A PROCESS OF INCREASINGLY DESTRUCTIVE RIVALRY.

27. NO CHALLENGE BEFORE THE WORLD COMMUNITY IS MORE COMPLEX OR MORE CRITICAL THAN THE CONTROL OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. IN NO AREA OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN DOES THE FUTURE OF THIS PLANET DEPEND MORE DIRECTLY UPON WHAT THIS GENERATION ELECTS TO DO -- OR NOT TO DO. THE WORLD COMMUNITY NOW CONFRONTS A CHOICE -- TO SEEK RATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE ACTION TO SAFELY UTILIZE THE POTENTIAL OF NUCLEAR POWERS FOR PEACEFUL PROGRESS, OR, THROUGH NEGLECT, NARROW PREOCCUPATIONS, OR SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS, TO CONDEMN OUR CHILDREN'S LIVES TO A PERVASIVE THREAT OF NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE.

28. WE ARE FACED WITH A DILEMMA OF THE UTMOST SEVERITY BUT IT IS FULLY WITHIN OUR CAPACITY TO RESOLVE IT. WE

CAN MEET THE IMPERATIVE OF PEACE AND ADVANCE OUR COMMON

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PROGRESS. THE RESPONSIBILITY WHICH HISTORY HAS PLACED

UPON US IS CLEAR. LET US HAVE THE GOOD SENSE TO SEE BEYOND

THE INTERESTS AND AMBITIONS OF THE MOMENT. LET US

SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES OF THE MOMENT, BEFORE THE PERILS

OF THE FUTURE ENGULF US. END TEXT. ROBINSON

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